1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By WILLIAM LIPKIND

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

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minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink. This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple. Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Javahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

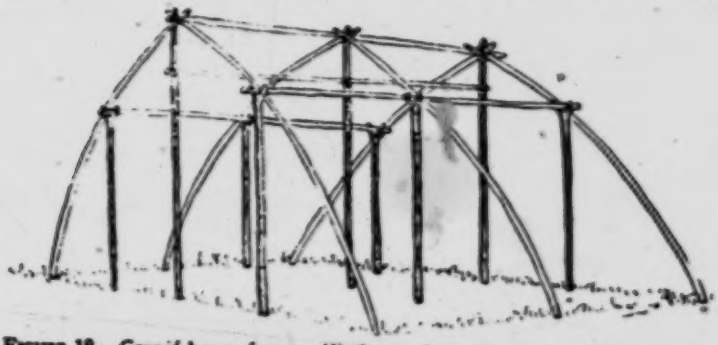

FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

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pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[62] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

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175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[16] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[36] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[67] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[64]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the 171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gẽs nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia 133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S. ● 361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character [139] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [22] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 10 three large tribes of the Yavahẽ, Karayahi, and Šambióa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahẽ are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahẽ. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/7 cont./

[36] [648] Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank. Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the [177] Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization" [184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable. On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob- [126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They [648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

[3] The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about [101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports. [361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids [224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions, however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up to the region of the Apinagēs, near the present São Vincente, from [172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
[283] cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

[184] This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȧodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[197] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

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● 361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

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342 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid
184 house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller
351 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since
364 all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually
[136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers,
especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place.
342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf
[361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other
respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian
population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more
[184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industri-
ousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the
wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother
vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization.
[361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these
houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly
friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and
Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the
second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is
inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names.
342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side
[335] with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four
flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held
together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus
/Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further
supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long
direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked
supports, are connected with one another by as many strong hori-
zontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise
[824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof
and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú
palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly
waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one
another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/78 cont./ [Plate II: Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Sambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed [501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

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342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
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574 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Sambioa.

Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the Sambioa).

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354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
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Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

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1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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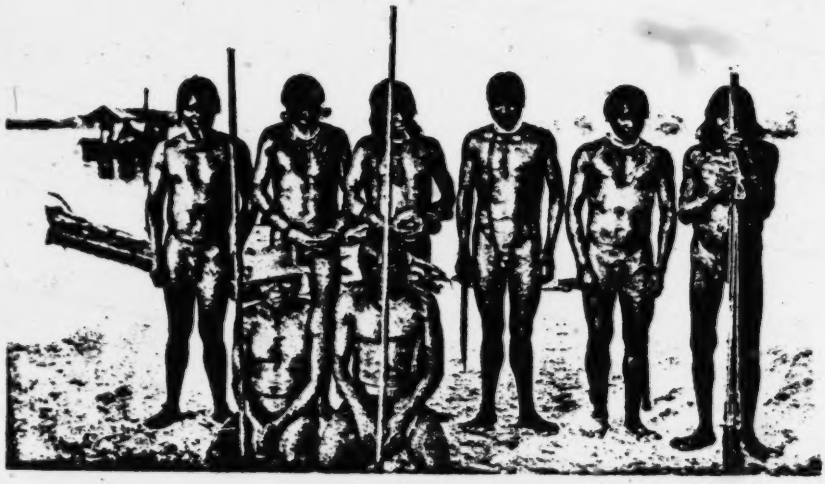

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Plate IV

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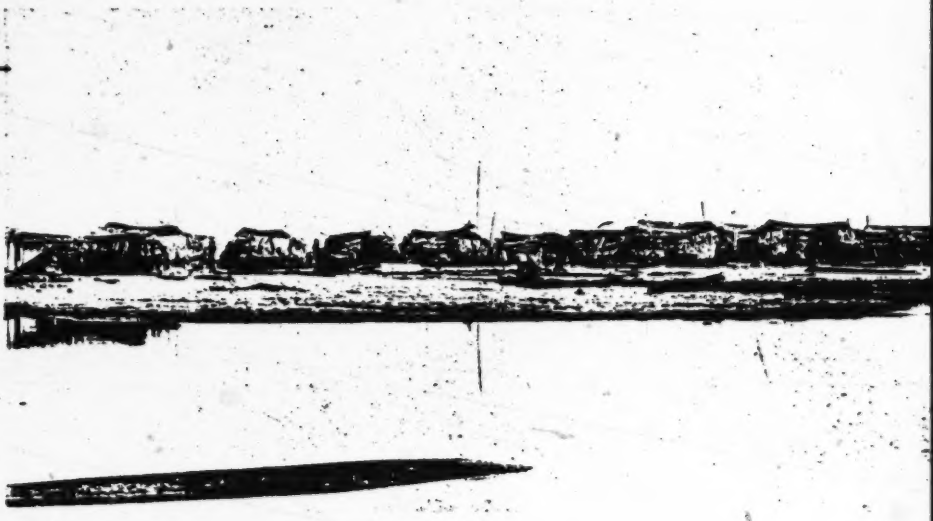

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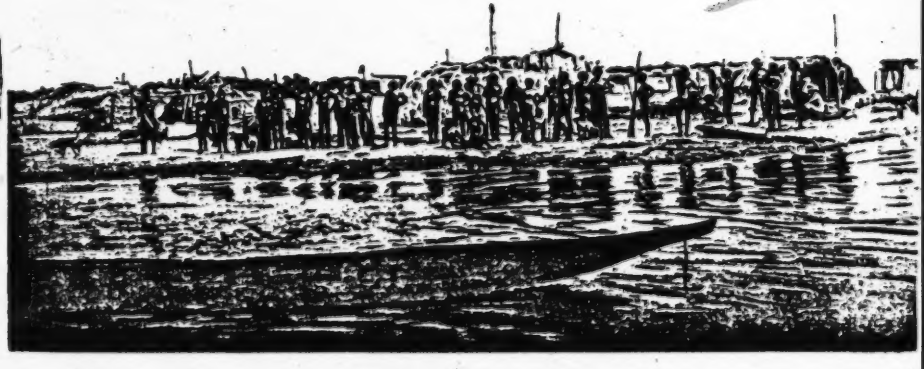

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5: Krause--5 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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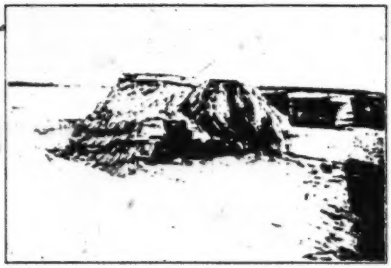
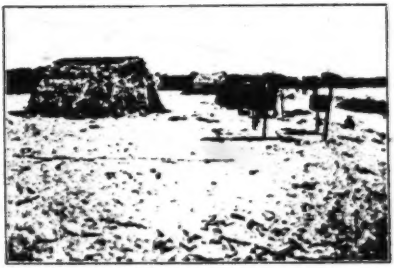


1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.



2. Karajá village.

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3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

5: Krause--7 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 13

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1. Mat camp of migrant Karayá Indians.

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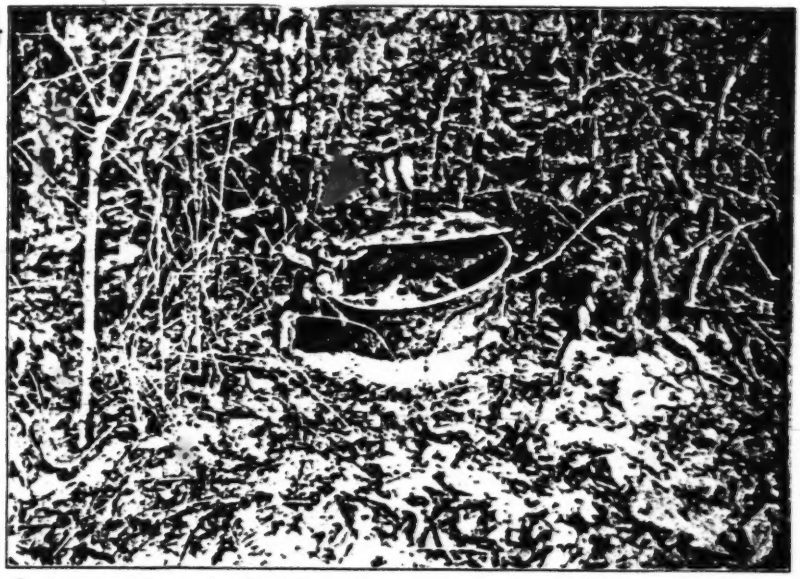

2. Funerary urn in the Karajá cemetery, S. Izabel do Morro.

/Pl. 13 faces p. 60./

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175 There now followed a series of expeditions, the purpose of which was to make navigation on the Araguaya possible, above all, therefore, to establish communication between Goyaz and Pará.

In 1792-93 Thomaz de Souza Villa Real undertook the first journey down the Araguaya, from Goyaz to Pará by way of the eastern arm of Bananal, at the expense of a number of [131] traders interested in shipping. He gives information about the Carajás (the Šambioá are meant) and the Pinagés; he also met a few Carajás (probably Karajá proper, just below the north end of Bananal Island (13).

[113] 13. Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. /Voyage of Thomaz de Souza Villa Real by way of the Tocantins, Araguaia, and Vermelho rivers; accompanied by important official documents concerning the same navigation./

[361] In 1793 he traveled up the Tocantins and Araguaya as far as the lowest village of the Šambiaó (called Carajás by him). He also mentions the Carajahi (first mention of this name) and Tapirasse (13) /see footnote 13 above/.

These expeditions resulted in a little boat traffic on the Araguaya; a place on the Rio Vermelho or on the Rio de Peixe served as harbor for Goyaz. Difficulty was caused by the fact that only few boatmen were available for such journeys, and there was a lack of points where fresh provisions could be obtained along the way.

Further expeditions followed. In 1800, the new governor of Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, traveled from Pará up the

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175 [113] In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a village on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract region of the river (identical with our present-day Sambioá villages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

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19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

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175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[113] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[13] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 175 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization. The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

10 114 175 [36] [131]

/179 cont./

Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words, restores the old name, while he does not mention the name Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally, as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however, Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relationship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and, to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă̆,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahĭ by Ehrenreich. In accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

[104]

kărădjă̆, or krădjă̆. In addition, ĭnă̆ and ĭnaûlă̆ were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the 13| Cherénte wărăšŭtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the [437] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake [648] trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the 484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their [437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; [113] Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate [361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel [225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the 13| Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: klĭũzã̆ (klĭlŏzã̆, kŭlĭzã̆); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũ̆hũ̆; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, klãlãũ̆.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherénte, ĭnŏlã̆tŭ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĭãbĕzã̆; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šã̆wãjẽ̆, (ĭ)šã(n)dĭwãndŭ̆.

In the north, the Šambioá: šãmbĭŏã̆.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbãĭ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĭšã̆wŭndãhõ̆.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, except for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear
[439] of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the
619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great respect even before the two tribes related to them. This is prob-
[162] ably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:
• 36 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal
622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wãlãtã̆, Crišõtẽ̆,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/188 cont./

[36] [162] [622] Tŭmănăkū (said to have died in September 1908), João III, Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtūnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an [484] [622] [578] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days' journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakū. From Tumanakū to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmărē along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

[36] [162] [103] /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves, below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āũwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (šĭšă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above [484] Leopoldina (šĭšămãdŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is [103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near [484] São José there are two villages: šĭšă is one and a half days' journey away; šĭšămãdŏ is two and a half days' journey from [621] šĭšă. šĭšămãdŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/189 cont./

361 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer
621 the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of
22 a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the
361 reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians
132 told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy
136 season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:
621

	North Horde	Korumare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immigrant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	–	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	–	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	–	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	–	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	–	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	–	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/190 cont./

175 167 [162] In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip of Bananal, they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 167 648 [164] [165] Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished. In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

[131] [484] [439] [721]

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages

175 131 36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

195 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
[221] bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

175 361 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages [162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40 [221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the [162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 167 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the [622] first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mănĕkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to [361] the Indians, šĭšă consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šăndălăbĕ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/192 cont./

167 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its
648 origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos
[197] at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be
361 definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

If we take the Rio Tapirapé as the point of separation, there were: /Plates 39 and 40 appear here/

/193/

	below:	above:
on the downstream trip...	6 villages, 1 migratory village,	7 villages, 3 migratory villages,
on the upstream trip...	4 (1) villages, 3 migratory villages,	9 villages, 1 migratory village.

[113]

1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 90]

/193 cont./

166 Therefore a slight shift to the south has taken place. It should
361 also be mentioned that in September of 1908 Chief Cyriáki detached himself from Cadete and moved to the village at the mouth of the Tapirapé, that is, the next one to the south (2). There were

2. Kissenberth mentions the first village above the mouth of the Tapirapé as Cyriáki's village.

two migrations from the north to the south horde, but only for the purpose of visits or trade. A few persons, however, seemed to wish to remain permanently with the south horde.

In the south horde the same villages were again found in October as in June. On the downstream trip eight villages with 19 houses and five abandoned villages with eleven houses were observed, on the upstream trip the same eight villages with 20
[463] houses, but two villages had been shifted and two branches had withdrawn (boatbuilders of the second and third village who had completed their work); moreover, three deserted villages with six houses were to be seen (3).

3. On the reason for the abandonment of the villages, see below under "House and Village" /see pp. 85 - 87/.

167 The increase in houses by one is attributable to the immigra-
166 tion of Šavajé, for on the upstream journey there were five male
361 and eleven female Šavajé in Schischá. Besides that, however, the number has shifted further: on the downstream trip I counted 70 men and 61 women, on the upstream trip 70 men and 78 women; thus, with the Šavajé, the increase from June to October amounted to five men and 28 women, or 33 persons. This increase is to be traced back, in addition to immigration by the Šavajé, to that from the north horde.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[36]

4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
194 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[797] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115]

1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/200 cont./

800 136 361 to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies, /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

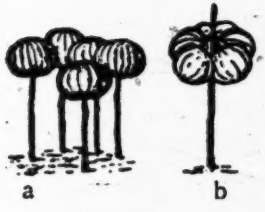
417

[225] →

Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]



Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from [136] a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

Plate 41

133
231
291
342

1. Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

133
342
361

2. Unfinished village: mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
476 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[824] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbŏ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bŭlĕ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as [252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdŏ): They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

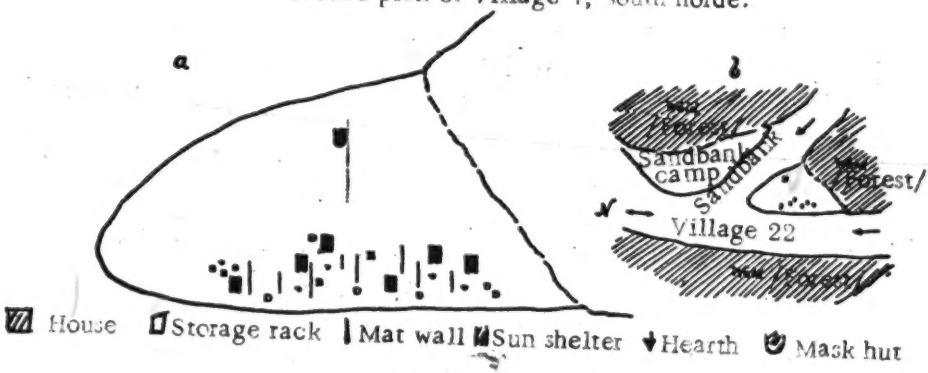
• 361 The village (ĩzŏ).

Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

/202 cont./

361 among the Karajá, though the multitude of mat walls and storage racks makes an over-all view difficult. In general, the arrangement is such that in the first row from the shore with the boats stand the supply racks, /203/ in the second the mat walls with the hearths for cooking, and in the third, up on the dry sand, the dwellings (Pl. 11, Ill. 2). Exact rows, however, are not observed, but rather

Ill. 27.
Ground plan of Village 7, south horde.



Ill. 28.

Ground plan of Village 22, north horde.

one house is sometimes built somewhat farther forward than another. Nevertheless, one has the impression of a row. I drew ground plans of all the villages; as particularly typical I should like to speak of the one for Village 22 (second northernmost village; Ill. 28) and Village 7 (south horde; Ill. 27).

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

68 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

> 1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of [571] the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/203 cont./
in their dryness and cleanliness, are ideal dwelling sites. In the course of the dry season and within a certain area, they migrate from sandbank to sandbank as each of them becomes exposed by the river, so that in this way they always have fresh, unspoiled, clean dwelling-sites. With the beginning of the rainy season the villages are moved back again to the higher initial sandbanks and finally to the high banks of the river (2).

2. This explains the many abandoned villages that one comes across everywhere.

/204/ These rainy-season villages, lying up on the campo, are often far from the river; in the case of the north horde, they lie in part in mountains and are therefore difficult to find. This and the practice that several dry-season villages live together in a campo village probably explain the small number of Karajá villages mentioned by Coudreau.

If the villages are permanently abandoned, the houses, the poles of the mat walls and storage racks, the roasting grates, hearths, etc. are left standing; they very quickly disintegrate. Villages abandoned for a short time (for example, during trading expeditions) are made secure by closing the entrances of the houses with leaf walls. All the household equipment, such as pots, baskets, etc., is piled up at the sides and covered with large mats. In front of the houses, manioc stalks, tied in bundles of five or six pieces, are usually planted in the sand. Palm fronds are stuck into the ground all around for protection, and the whole is then tied together. For the rest, wild disorder prevails in such abandoned villages. Large pots lie about upside down, often protecting smaller ones underneath. Mortars, gourd vessels, and scraps of baskets lie about here and there, and everywhere there are large heaps of manioc remains, nut shells, turtle shells, and finally urucú fruits, without which no journey can be undertaken (see greeting painting /see pp.100 -104/).

/242 cont./

24 [821] The time for laying out the planting is approximately September to October; it is called bōlăhŭă (1). It is regulated by

1. = Southern Cross?

the Pleiades (bōlŏbĕdŏ = parakeets): if it is low, manioc is planted; if it is somewhat higher, maize is planted. Cotton, batatas, and urucú are not planted until much rain falls, in other words, about November and December. These statements of the Indians coincide with the fact that I often found them absent from the village in October; they were sometimes days distant, in order to lay out the planting. Tall columns of smoke indicated in which direction they were doing this. The planting is usually laid out at a great distance from the village, on flood-safe high banks. As far as possible, the Indians ride there in a boat, but then they often still have long land marches to overcome before [311] they reach the planting. Recently they have begun laying out their plantings in the interior of Bananal Island, because the [361] harvests are supposed to be very good there. One chief, Korumaré, has already moved permanently to the inland river of Bananal. On the ninth of October I did not meet Chief Fotuna in his village; he had traveled two days inland to Bananal in order to prepare a new planting there. Apparently other villages were also considering the plan to betake themselves into the interior of Bananal later on.

The plantings are laid out by the married men, but the male youth seems to help. The underbrush is cut down; the tall forest [412] trees are stripped of their branches and then felled, which was formerly done with stone axes, but is now done with iron axes. [313] Larger timber is brought to the village as firewood, /243/ and the rest is burned as soon as it is dry. Then, between the fallen trees, small, low round beds are laid out, in which are planted three manioc stalks, set in a triangle with their twigs interlaced at the top (Ill. 12). For digging, heaping up the beds, and cutting in the holes for the plants a spade-like implement (măŭlĕ or ĭdjōlŏ) is used. It consists of a thick stick that is pointed at one end and at the other runs out into a shovel (Ill. 83). The shovel serves to lift

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

484 [36] The Indians do not like to travel by land. The north-south extension of their dwelling area along the river essentially requires boat trips from village to village. Land marches are undertaken only to visit the plantings or foreign tribes. For both purposes paths exist.

487 The paths are approximately 20-25 centimeters wide and are produced by the treading down or pulling up of clumps of grass; they do not go straight, but make slight meanderings. The 481 Indians walk on them single file, one behind the other. Their feet are not, as is often said, placed exactly one in front of the other, but rather, as I was constantly able to observe on marches lasting for days, the Indians turn their toes outward, exactly as we do; at most they sometimes turned their feet slightly inward when a taller clump of grass along the side required it. It is also very pleasant to walk barefoot on these paths; they are kept very clean and smooth.

485 For short marches, such as to the plantings, there are no special arrangements; it is different in the case of paths that lead cross-country for days and are more frequently traveled. They are provided with shelter-huts at intervals of a day's march, cooking places, ferry boats and water-transport vessels on either side of the waters. I traveled such a traffic route when I marched across Bananal Island in order to reach the Šavajé.

482 As a means of transport by land the back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ) are chiefly used; they are carried on shoulder-band and forehead-band and /276/ quite enormous loads may be transported in them (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2). All other heavy loads are also carried on the carrying-band of brown bast (ōūnă), which is placed around the forehead or the chest; for example, the large carrying baskets (wălĭlĭ, Pl. 57, Ill. 3). For my knapsacks, the Indians likewise made themselves forehead-bands. Large sleeping mats are rolled up and transported crosswise upon the head.

/351 cont./

175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavánte who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
[114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Savajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Savajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Savajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Savajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15,
[487] from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Savajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 312]

/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjŭ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndŭ.
361 [114] [161] [162] I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

342 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs
184 considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house
[177] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1).
[353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are
[354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

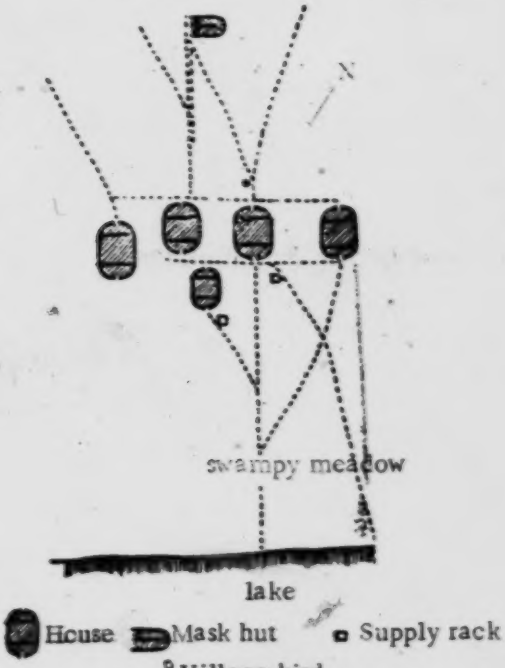
361 The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row
184 parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The
[346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes, they are made by the Savajé

361



Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the
Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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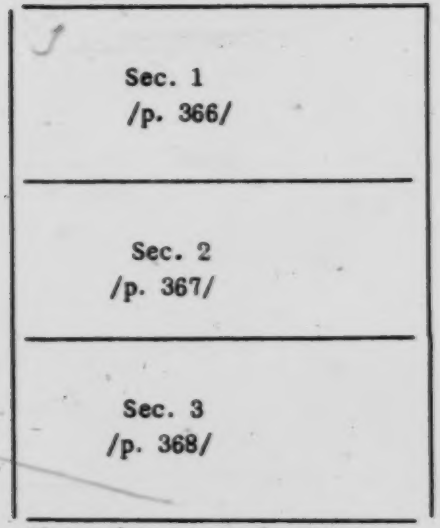

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

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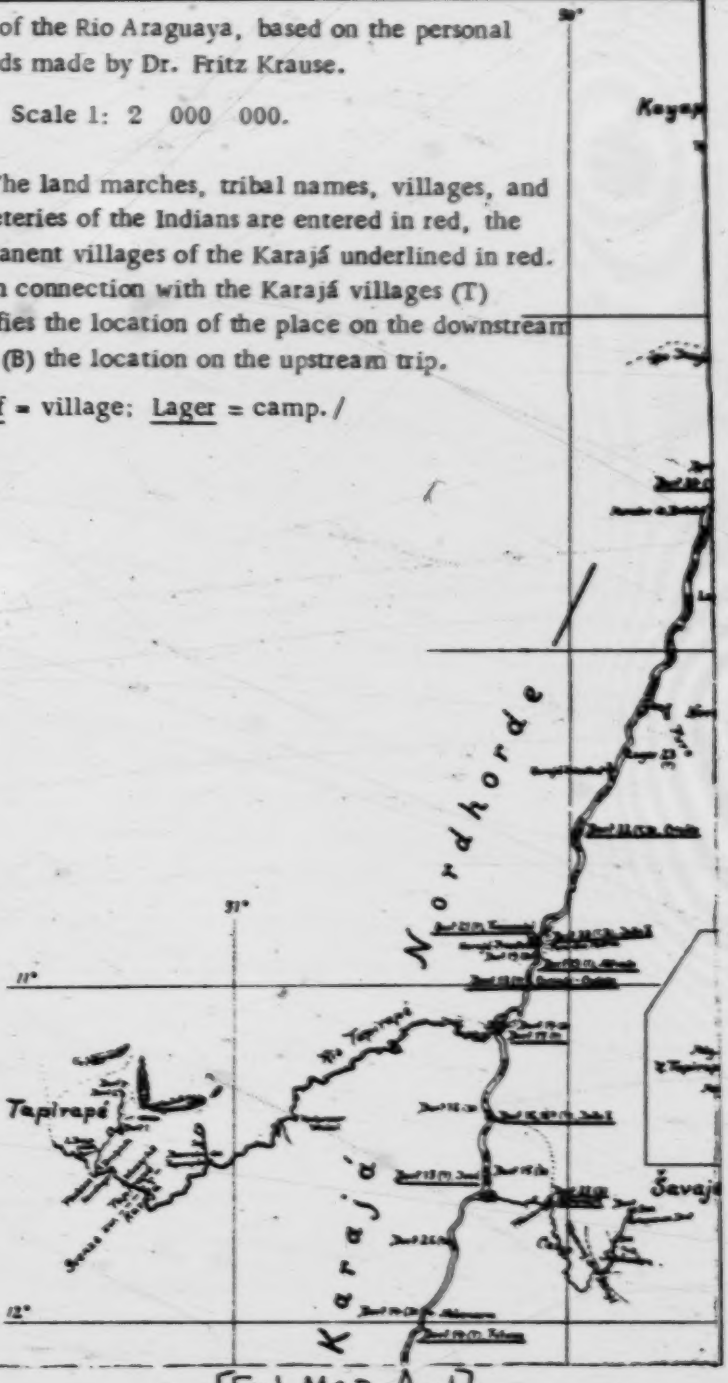
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirapé SP22

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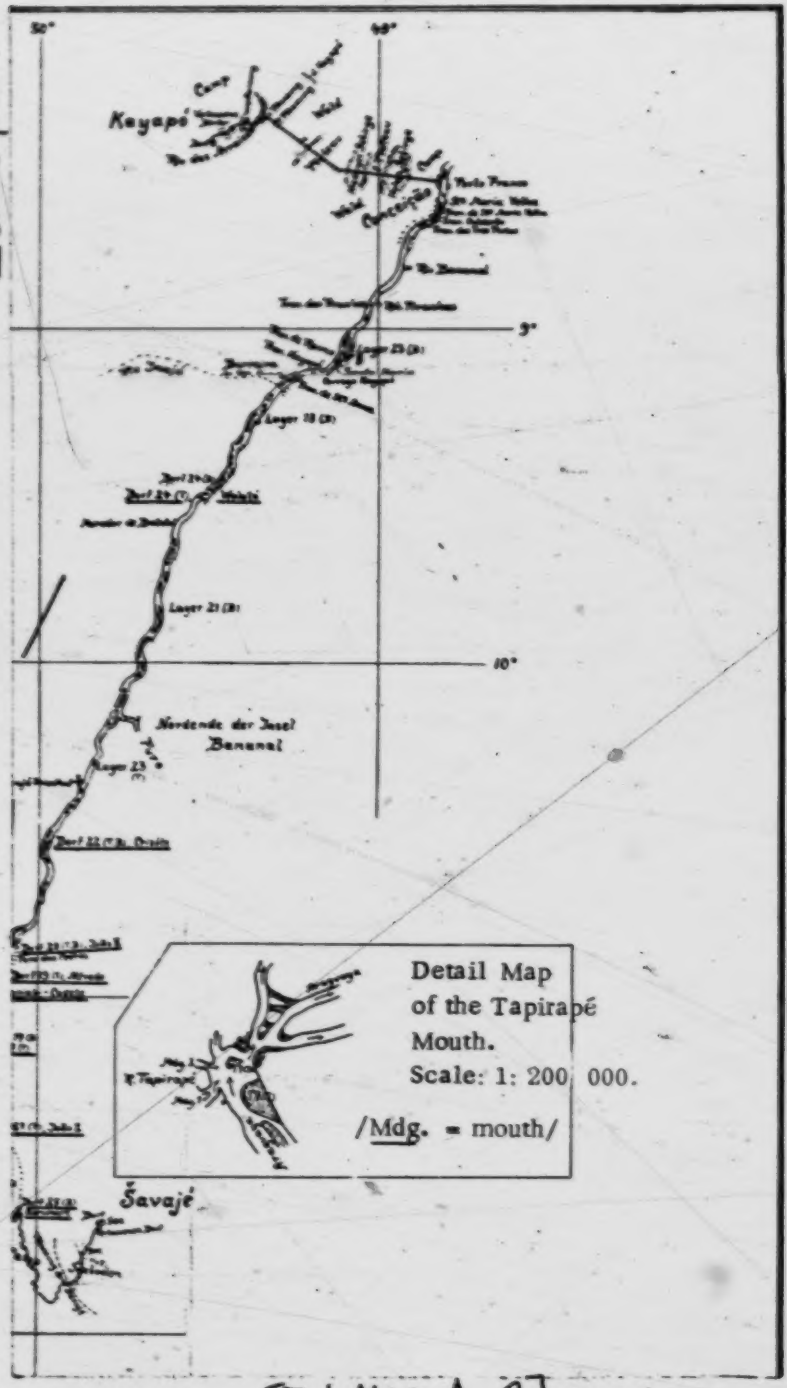

[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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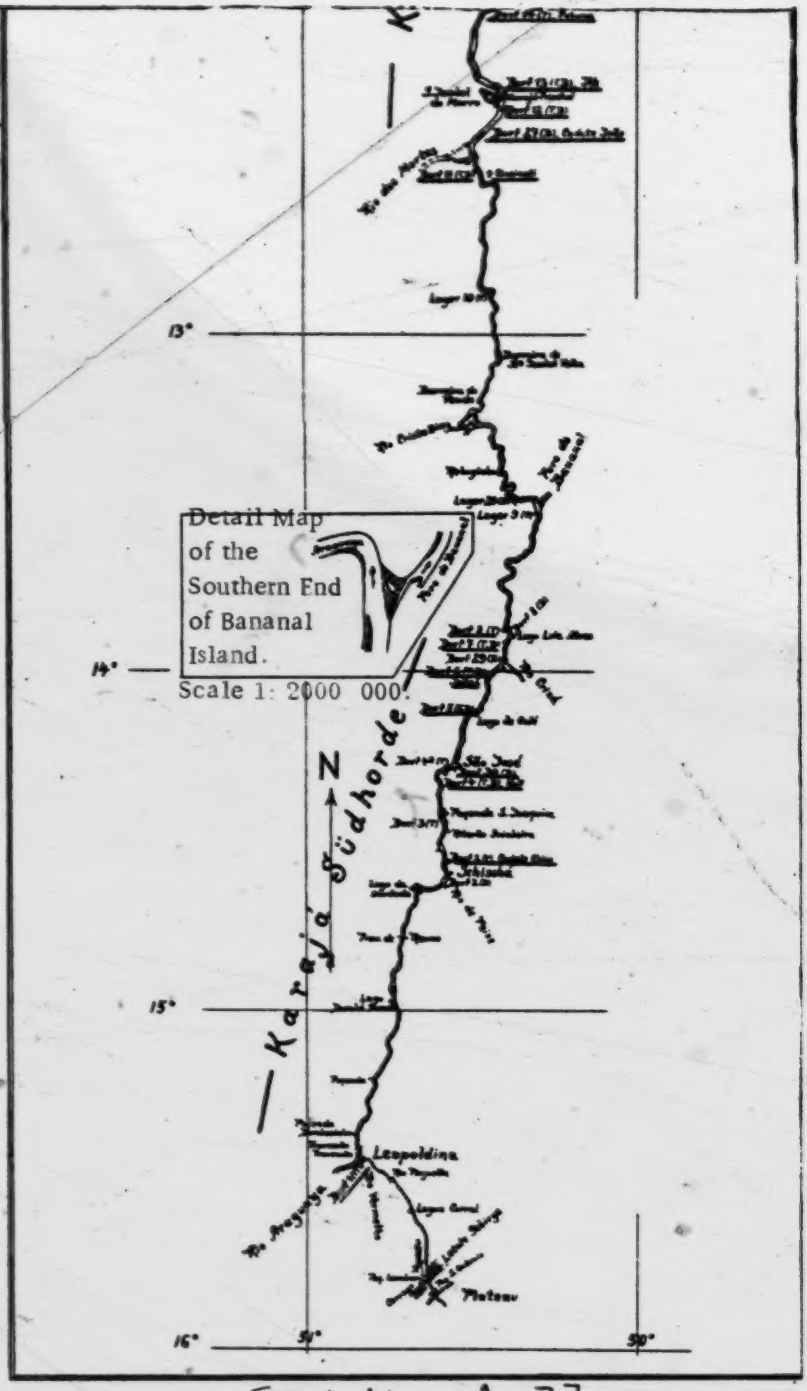

[End Map A-3]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The largest fish in the river are eight or ten feet in length and encased in an armor of big scales. Still other fish will be mentioned later. 136

After a five o'clock dinner one afternoon, we cast off again in order to take advantage of the current during the early part of the night. How strangely beautiful and romantic were the scenes that encircled us as we were borne quietly along on the bosom of the mighty, silent, placid flood and the shadows of night, pursuing the fleeing day, stole slowly over us! The boundless forest on both sides of the river, standing, or kneeling down into the water, seemed a vast guard of honor presenting arms, or two grand armies standing at attention. At length, calm and solemn night enveloped us in her sombre mantle. Two hours later, the full moon arose like a Queen of Glory in all her splendor, and radiated a flood of brilliant, delicious light that glorified river and forest and transfigured the savage world through which we were silently moving like spectres. I felt like exclaiming in the words of the Psalmist, "Praise ye him, sun and moon: Praise him all ye stars of light!" ooo

Soon, we reached a little hamlet called São José, that at the time of our visit, was in an advanced state of decay. This was the last outpost of "civilization," and the few people who lived here were cut off from the rest of the world and barely managed to eke out an existence. As I was sitting in our canoe one evening while we tarried here, some large fish heads that had been lying on the beach were thrown into the water; and the instant they struck the water, several fish one to two or more feet in length shot out of the water in the vicinity and glided, or ricochetted over the surface in every direction. They were frightened, apparently, by the large heads. We bought a fat cow here for three dollars and fifty cents and salted the meat down; but as the curing was not properly done, we finally lost the meat. [361] 123

We found a small group of the Karayá living at São José. We met the Karayá for the first time just before arriving here. They interested me greatly. Doubtless I appeared no [162]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut [526] where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused.

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from me for her young son. To make me understand what she wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more."

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the savage world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arósa*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more orderly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located between Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As regards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

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609 Many of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

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eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families. They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called *praias*. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds, and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty, ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

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361 beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down
[364] their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the
[342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such sub-
184 stantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of
342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in
363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four
361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and
162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or
592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple.
[285] The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-
[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese
353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while